1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

462 294 stitching. The leg of the boot is of dark blue cotton cloth and reaches to the knee. Stockings are not worn. Some women pull their boots on over bare feet, others wrap their feet with long strips of cotton cloth. The designs embroidered on ornamental boots are Chinese —swastikas and other designs, and flowers such as violets, roses, or peonies.

• 554 292 The boots and the sash are important items in the trousseau of a Monguor bride—they display her proficiency in embroidery. Months of work go into the preparation of them, and girls learn the art of embroidering from older women. A pair of fine boots, worn only on festive occasions, is expected to last a lifetime. At festivals, if it is rainy or muddy, women can be seen walking barefoot carrying their precious boots under their arms, laughing and chatting as they trudge through the mud and putting on their boots only at the last moment. At such gatherings, boots and sashes are the articles that women compare and admire or envy; often a fine pair of boots is taken off and passed around the admiring circle of women while the proud owner modestly watches from the corner of her eyes, gracefully accepting compliments and congratulations. After 291 the age of about forty, however, the woman puts aside her fancy foots and wears boots of a more simple style. An important part of the costume is a sort of apron which covers the chest and stomach. The upper part is of white cotton cloth, and the lower part of green cloth. The lower part is often beautifully embroidered with flowers, swastikas, or the Chinese characters signifying "longevity" and "happiness." On the lower part is sewed a large pocket in which women keep their needle cases, thread, and all kinds of odds and ends. The upper part of the apron hangs from a string around the neck, while the lower part is tied behind the back with laces.

Under her apron a woman wears a short shirt, reaching to the hips, made of red or green or violet cotton cloth. In winter this shirt is doubled and wadded with cotton or wool. Rich people wear shirts of satin or silk.

The woman's gown is a long, full robe, reaching to the heels, with wide sleeves. The front of the gown overlaps on the left side, and buttons under the left arm and down the side while the man's gown, as already described, buttons down the right side. Except for wealthy people, the gown is ordinarily of blue cotton cloth. Another gown of the same size and pattern is worn over the first gown. This outer gown is roughly woven from the wool of sheep or goats. As this wool has not been cleaned of its natural oil before being woven, it is heavy, warm, and sheds water well. In some places where the Monguor women, like Tibetan women, do not wear trousers, these two gowns are the only clothing. A girdle or sash holds both gowns in at the waist. For poor people, this is the only fastening of the gown; buttons are not used.

292 For festive dress the rough outer gown is not worn

581 /6 cont'd/
589 as far as selling all that one possesses, one's lands, houses, and ani-
183 mals, and will live in indigence; at the death of the parents, the elder married sons, in the case where the possessions are about to be divided up, must, before all else, put aside the sums required for the marriage of the younger unmarried sons; the parents, at the approach of death, will feel the greatest relief in the fact that they have gotten all their sons married. In order to permit the poor to marry, recourse is had to all kinds of contrivances, which very often are only imposed by reason of their primordial goal, which is that of marriage, and which scorn many obligations which in "justice" would seem, at the least, to have to be taken into greater consideration. One will find decisions which will appear unjust, but when one studies this mental attitude, which gives proportion to everything, one will understand that among the T'ou-jen the other principles yield to it and are sacrificed.

554 Marriage, for the T'ou-jen people, is the great affair in life,
581 obligatory above all else. One is no longer an honorable man when one is not married; this is because they believe that man has the duty to live according to natural law, that is, to marry and procreate children.

623 One day one of my catechists was invited to sit with the elders
627 of the village to judge the case of a penniless young man who had
689 run off with a girl of good rank. They had been brought back after
588 an escapade of three years, with a child born during the flight.

The young man was on his knees, his hands tied behind his back, imploring the clemency of the judges and of the whole assembled village. /7/ Despairing, he was saying, of ever being able to marry because of his extreme poverty, he had believed it permissible to act in this way, in order to be able to do his duty and marry. "I have been unjust toward the girl's parents, but I submit myself in advance to make all the reparations possible that will be required of me...." The girl also cries for mercy: "I could have hoped for a better match," she admits, "but I followed this young man to be gracious; without me, he would never have been able to marry...."

681 After an important palaver the offending couple was punished, and the judges found a way to indemnify the injured family and to legalize this union.

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16. Opening of the Daughter-in-law's Mouth

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Until now the wife has not yet opened her mouth; her head has always been enveloped in the veil until the end of the marriage ceremony. On no pretext has she been able to say a word since her departure from her home. All the guests have had their /74/ eyes fixed upon her; uttering a single word would be considered one of the most fatal omens for the future. She is even forbidden to satisfy her natural needs, and in anticipation of that she has abstained from drinking the day before.

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Her mouth must be opened by the mother-in-law in person. Led back into the nuptial chamber after the marriage ceremony, she has been served tea and bread still in silence. Then comes the mother-in-law, who sits down on the k'ang and tells her point-blank, "Starting from today you are forbidden to divulge anything that goes on in the family, and anything that will happen in the future. You will not repeat within the family what you will hear outside. A daughter-in-law's mouth must be 'hard' (do not tell anything) with respect to people outside, it must be 'flexible' toward her relatives."

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The daughter-in-law answers affirmatively, her mouth is opened. They talk again together for several minutes. Henceforward the wife is permitted to talk with her maid of honor in the nuptial chamber; the women who are at the festivity go to wish her good day.

17. The Dinner

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The guests of the two families have taken their places at the tables prepared for the dinner. (1) The maternal uncle, the go-

1. Shirokogoroff, p. 84: (A dinner is served in the Chinese style. A master of ceremonies conducts the proceedings.) The clan people and especially the family members eat after the guests. When the meal approaches its end, they bring to the bride's place the ritual meal

/117 cont'd/
606 lose their rights of inheritance in their family of origin, but since
691 /118/ they are regarded as members of the wife's family, they get back their lost rights. Cases are even cited where they become head in the wife's family. That is the general law fitting this practice.

593 Now the T'ou-jen live at present under a patriarchal system,
608 which is incompatible with this custom. Consequently, it is not
606 surprising that the husband-son-in-law finds himself in a very dis-
● 554 advantageous position....
[551] Since there has been no adoption of the son-in-law into the wife's family, he continues to be called by the name of his father, he and his children; he continues to be a member of his paternal family, to honor the dead of his father's family, and to lend a hand to his family of origin in cases of vengeance, etc. Thus in theory he keeps the rights of inheritance in his paternal family. But since these sons-in-law usually belong to very poor families, the chance to enjoy their rights of inheritance very rarely presents itself.

I have, however, met the case in question two or three times, and each time the brothers who had stayed home tried to eliminate the husband-son-in-law on the pretext that he had not contributed to the acquiring of the family's property. However, the unfortunate one always succeeded in making the most of his rights, if not wholly at least in part.

That amply proves that the husband-son-in-law living with the parents-in-law to serve them until death is in a false position with respect to his family of origin.

His position with respect to his wife's family is no better. Indeed, under the patriarchal system, succession is paternal. The name of the son-in-law differs from that of his wife's family; now we have seen "another name, another family," the son-in-law then does not have the right of inheritance to make the most of here. This is what explains the fact that one will never see young people of a well-to-do family consent to making themselves husband-sons-in-law, and that only those who have nothing to lose will take this
608 path.
606 /119/ If the parents-in-law are poor, there will be no difficul-
428 ties for this combination on the part of their own family; if, on the

/126 cont'd/

588 A. To a prayer pole, a tree, a wall, a lion of baked clay, etc.

B. Marriages to a belt

Let us note that the marriages in the first series are also practiced by the Tibetans of Kansu, who live in a seminomadic and semiagrarian state; they are not found among the Chinese of the region.

A. Marriages to a Prayer Pole, etc.

114 Let us first put forth the case, then let us justify the classification of this practice in the series of marriages.

One can read in the books which speak of the T'ou-jen that this people includes girls, unmarried all their lives, who, however, bear children just the same. The Chinese books especially try to disparage this people particularly because of this custom. Now, they are mistaken. These superficial observers have understood nothing about the customs of these regions. It is not by this custom that the morality of the T'ou-jen must be judged.

844 To be able to bear a child honestly (for there is an honesty also [302 among these peoples), custom /127/ requires, without any exception 554] whatever, that the mother wear her hair in the style of married women; in other words, this is to say that it is necessary to be married to be able to become a mother.

848 Now it happens that girls not yet given in marriage are pregnant. [847] Two solutions then present themselves: the first is to bring on an abortion or to wait until the child is born to make it disappear or to offer it to anyone who wants it; the second is to change the hair style of the girl, that is to say, to get her married.

588 When the second solution is adopted, they invite three or four [848] neighbors, who with the family are present at the "marriage." They have been careful to prepare the attire of the bride. She arrays herself with it and has her hair done in the style of married women. Two lamps are lighted, and the sacred fire placed in the middle of the courtyard is maintained by means of cypress branches. After spreading out pieces of red felt, they proceed to the marriage, which

588 /131 cont'd/
574 children born later will continue to be always given the name of the
[858] guest. It goes without saying that the latter does not bother in any way with the support of either the child or the woman.

[428] Important remark: No right of inheritance is recognized for these children in the family of their mother. They are considered as the children of a daughter married to some individual, for they bear another name; now, another name, another family.

588 This curious custom finds its place in the series of marriages
554 because it creates a legal position in favor of the mother identical in every way to that of any married woman. The woman married to a belt is considered the wife of husband X and no one will ever venture to abduct her.

588 /132/ Marriages to a belt and those to prayer poles resemble each other strongly; the manner of celebrating them is the same; women who have contracted these marriages are considered as duly married, and the children, in the two groups, are recognized as legitimate. The only difference between the two groups of marriages lies in the fact that those of the prayer-pole group are recognized by the mother's clan, and those of the other are considered as not belonging to this clan. Those of the prayer-pole group seem to be direct vestiges of one of the stages of the matriarchate; indeed, they bring about inheritance in the family by the daughter. Those of the second group, on the contrary, by the fact that the woman and the children are considered as having left the clan, do not seem to have this origin; but if the prayer-pole marriages had not existed formerly, those of the belt group would never have been practiced.

588 The following item throws a singular light on this category of
573 marriages. A certain Tchang-kia-pa of Hong-ngai-tse-keou had a daughter married to a belt, mother of a small child; in addition, he had a married son at home. As a consequence of continual friction between the daughter married to the belt and the daughter-in-law, the first sought a match, married, and left the paternal home, taking away her son. Thus a certain Hou Iu-leang bought her as his second wife for the sum of 200 strings of cash.

After five or six years, at the time of the great fair and festivities of Wei iuen-p'ou which take place in the second moon, a

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Ma 586 (earnest). They pay it back only in the case, if it is paid and the bride runs away with someone else just before the wedding. Such cases are absolutely exceptional... all this question must be reported to the clan. /Cited in English, with French interpolation, indicated by parentheses./

Mo 586 A case can occur in which the wife is the only guilty one. It is natural then that the wife's family does not require compensation, etc. I have never, however, heard it said that the guilty wife's family had to give back to the injured son-in-law the earnest received at the time of the marriage.

Mo 586 554 /143/ On the question of repudiation let us note that it is necessary to take account of many circumstances, of which one of the main ones is the economic status of the wife's family, the influence this family enjoys in the region, and above all the fact of having among its members people who will know how to cope with the husband's family in spite of everything. One must also take into account the power of the husband's family, which if it has influential protectors can allow itself to be prepared for all eventualities. In the Orient especially, it is not enough to have rights, it is necessary to be able to defend them.

C. Exchange of Married Women

Mo 437 593 587 I cannot pass by in silence the case of four families of Hong-ngai-tse-keou, who without recourse to divorce or repudiation got rid of their wives by mutually exchanging them, without further ceremony; the children remained in the families where they were born. All was arranged without go-betweens, contract, or expenses, by common agreement among those concerned.

These are the only cases of this practice which have come to my knowledge, and I think they are isolated cases which prove

[37 cont.] On the threshing
792 floor the women and children tirelessly perform their round
796 dances with song, so that one can hear them from afar; the
574 lama is supposed to see how joyfully they welcome him. Out-
[535] side the village all get off their horses; only the lama rides on alone. A man leads his horse by the reins.

As soon as he comes to the gate of the yard, a kang table is placed on the left side of the horse, and a white mat is put over it. The men help the lama out of the saddle, and all kowtow; only the women go on dancing without interruption. The lama steps out of the stirrups onto the table that has been set there and then strides toward the gate, where the master of the household is kneeling. He has placed a hada over his raised hands, and with it he extends to the lama a white bowl of milk with a cypress twig. The lama dips the twig into the milk, sprinkles the gate posts with it, and enters. The incense offering rises in the yard; people blow on all the conches they have. The men draw the lama forward with burning [38] sticks of incense and escort him to his room. There he sits down on the place indicated by the hada. The hada, however, is taken away.

792 The blessing: First of all, the lama rests with his com-
796 panions. The master of ceremonies pours him some tea and
574 invites him to fortify himself. Then the lama recites certain prayers. Meanwhile the yard fills with guests.

788 At this point the master of the household enters the guest room, hands the lama a hada, kowtows, and requests him to come out in order to bless the people. The lama gives him a few small gifts, which he has brought with him, with a hada. Then he rises and goes out. Outside there is an armchair with a cushion; the lama sits down on it, his back turned toward the main house; a white felt mat is spread in front of him.

● [554] Now the people move past him according to rank, first the men, then the women. Each person bows low before him while he touches the forehead or the crown of the head of everyone with his prayer book. His assistant stands at his side. After this ceremony he again withdraws into the house. [Figs. 4 and 5 appear here.]

[841 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 842-843 cont.]
chiang. The rules mentioned here lead one to surmise that conceptions from lunar mythology (black-white, circular horns) are involved here. The preference for male animals, with the exception of the mules, is also striking. -- This rule is also decisive in profane life. People who have a high opinion of themselves ride only male horses (gelding), but female mules; the reddish-brown color with white mane and white tail is regarded as elegant. White eye-rings, belly covering, and white mouth are highly esteemed for all riding animals of whatever color and help to determine the price. -- It is also interesting that among the goats the lamas prefer not black, but reddish-brown bucks.

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The old man said that the ordinary people would not bother with these rules unless they gave the animal to the monastery. Otherwise the color, age, sex, castration, etc. were unimportant, so long as the animal had no physical defects.

The released animals usually stay with their own herd or in the house, for they are used to it. If they run away, nobody bothers about it. A family always keeps horses, mules, and cattle at home and uses them as before. This was not the case originally, however; it is a deviation from the old custom, brought about by poverty and work in the fields.

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A consecrated animal may never be killed. It must die a natural death. If it is eaten by a wolf, it need not be replaced. If an evildoer kills the consecrated animal, then the punishment of heaven or of the consecration-deity will strike him. Also, under no circumstances may one slaughter a consecrated animal for the offering; this would be tantamount to ordinary killing.

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The first Ming emperor was delighted with the good will and efforts of San-la in bringing the Tibetan tribes into submission; he aimed to set an example of his high appreciation for the achievement, by rewarding San-la in an unusual way, thereby encouraging other lamas to follow his example. San-la appears to have been the first lama to act in this way, which explains the emphasis on his career in the *Annals* and the mention of him also in the general history of the Ming dynasty (ch. 300, pp. 3*b*, 4*a*). It is further recorded in ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a* of the *Annals*, concerning the appreciation of the Ming emperors for San-la and his brothers that:

> . . . in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) an imperial rescript was sent to build a monastery [presumably with a large sum of money]; two lamas of the group received the distinction of Kuo-shih ["teacher of the empire"], three received that of Master in Dhyana; a vast territory was granted; a gold and a silver seal were bestowed, each being 14 inches in circumference; one square jade seal, two ivory ones, and the inscription for a stele. During the Hung-hsi and Hsüan-te periods (1425–35) two texts, composed by the emperors, were again granted for two more steles.

This last text, encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining, is excerpted from the *Ming shih* (ch. 330, pp. 3*b*, 4*a*). It is very informative concerning the pro-Lamaist policy of the Ming, and the position of Lamaism in the country of Hsining at that time. According to the text, the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) was the beginning of the granting of titles to "influential lamas," which explains why no title is recorded for the meritorious San-la who received the chieftainship of the tribes and of the lamasery in the beginning of the Hung-wu period (1368–1399). The same practice concerning the granting of titles, found in the *Ming-shih* (ch. 330, p. 4*a*), mentions that in 1426 the additional title of "great teacher of the empire" and the honor of the fourth official grade had been bestowed on five lamas of note, to whom the title of "teacher of the empire" had previously been granted (1403–1424), because of their merits in helping to quell the revolts. The title "Master in Dhyana" and the honor of the sixth official grade had been granted probably for similar reasons.[42]

[42] The granting of titles, however, did not start with the Ming; the *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih, Chüan chou* (p. 27*a*) records: "Kubilai [1280–1295] in the beginning [of his reign] granted the title of Ta-kuo-shih great teacher of the empire, to the Sa-Skya lama, Phagspa, and later bestowed on him the title of 'great king of the precious law,' *Ta-pao-fa-wang*. When he spoke to him he called him, honorably, *Ti-shih*, 'teacher of the emperor'; at the same time to lama Tan-pa was granted the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and the number of those upon whom this title had been bestowed was not restricted to one. During the Hung-wu period [1368–1398] the titles of 'teacher of the empire' and 'great teacher of the empire' were only granted to four or five lamas. During the Yung-lo period [1403–1424] the title of 'king of the law' had been granted to two lamas, and that of 'Buddha of the western Paradise' to two

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The texts are very informative concerning the reason why, and the circumstances in which, titles were granted to lamas, and how Lamaism was as a consequence diffused in the country of Hsining and gained its tremendous influence and power.

The Ming dynasty in 1368 faced a double problem.[43] On the one hand, it had to take possession of the country and to protect it against inroads from turbulent nomadic tribes. On the other hand, the country having been depopulated during the disorders at the end of the previous dynasty, it had to find permanent trustworthy settlers and to attach them to the soil. The first problem was solved by accepting the submission of the groups of Monguors, making their chiefs T'u-ssu, Chinese officials, and wardens of the region and the passes, which they had guarded during the Yüan dynasty, and by means of sending a Chinese army of colonists and released prisoners. The second problem was tackled by favoring lamas, by attracting groups of families subject to them or tribes belonging to them or willing to submit to the empire, and assigning to them vast territories. Lamas were appointed chiefs of the tribes, granted honorable titles and privileges which could be transmitted to their successors. They encouraged the building of monasteries. Mongol tribes from Ordos which invaded Kukunor, driving out or subduing the Tibetan tribes of that country, provided a favorable opportunity to use the influence of the lamas to accept and settle the fleeing Tibetan tribes without territory, who were marauding over the country.

The evidence for this policy is to be found in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 19, p. 3*b*): "The Tibetan Lung-pu tribe (2,000 families) devastated the country several times. The Chinese armies were unable to make them surrender. Finally the Chinese General Tung-lo invited So-nan-chien-tso, a lama of the monastery of Ta-ming, in order to exhort them to submit." He was successful in his attempt. The author naïvely notes that in the tribe there were "two masters of the empire."

Page 6*a*: "The Lung-pen tribe, administered by a lama, came to settle in the country [and to submit]. Its chief received the title of 'teacher of the empire' and the duty of *Chih-hui*."

Page 6*a*: "The Sina tribe [still governed by a Living Buddha] had a lama with the title of 'teacher of the empire' (because he submitted with his tribe)."

Page 6*a*: "The lama chief of the Ch'ia-erh-chih tribe

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other lamas; but to 18 lamas had been granted the titles of *Kuan-ting* or *Ta-kuo-shih*, or both. During the Ching-t'ai period (1450–1456) the titles were granted so profusely that we lose count." P. Pelliot, Les "kouo-cheu ou Maitres du Royaume" dans le Bouddhisme chinois *T'oung Pao* 12: 671, 1911. The title of "teacher of the empire" was used in China at the time of the northern Chi (550–557); the title is also encountered in north-west India in A.D. 500 and was already known in Central Asia in A.D. 382.

[43] Schram, *op. cit.*, 34.

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bore the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and fulfilled the duty of *Chih-hui*," for the same reason.

Page 8*b*: "The Ssu-hou-mi tribe had a lama 'teacher of the empire' who had been granted a golden seal." (This unusual favor must have been granted for the same sort of reason.)

Page 10*b*: "The Ssu-ngo-ssu-ko tribe, always revolting and plundering, submitted after a lama had settled among them; also the Hsiao-cha-erh tribe (p. 11*a*) settled inside the wall and submitted after a lama living in the western mountains of Su-chou had been sent from Tibet for that purpose. The Pen-la tribe submitted after a lama coming from the south had settled among them." Three more tribes governed by lamas submitted; the Na-erh-pu (p. 5*a*), the Yeh-ch'ü (p. 6*a*), and the Nan-ta (p. 6*b*).

The submission of tribes induced by lamas started at the very beginning of the Ming (1368), and continued during the entire Ming period. The country thus became populated by tribes which professed the Lamaism of the Red Sect. The strong appeal to submit was, on the one hand, the insecurity in the region of Kukunor and, on the other hand, the benefits which attached to submission.

THREE PECULIAR INSTITUTIONS FOR LAMAS

From the very beginning the Ming created in Huang-chung for these lama chiefs three peculiar institutions: the Nang-suo,[44] the Karwa, and the Ch'an shih chia. Nang-suo and Karwa consisted basically of the granting of a territory, the fixing of a yearly tribute, the recognition of the chieftainship of the lama who had brought in the tribe, and of the heritability of that chieftainship. The Ch'an shih chia also enjoyed the privilege of heredity and a yearly allowance of wheat-flour, but no territories were granted to them.

This peculiar characteristic of heredity for lamas is explained by the fact that at that time they must have belonged to the Red Sect, and have been married. Red lamas living in the same tribe must have had a chieftain among them who had been granted the privilege of having the chieftainship transferred upon his death to his son. The difference between Nang-suo and Karwa chiefs was that the Nang-suo chief was the leader of a group or community of lamas, so constituted that the entire group was interested in his privileges and benefits. The Karwa chief was a single lama presiding over a small group of subjects. His privileges included only his own family and private interests. The Ch'an shih chia's privileges applied only to him personally. Another important difference between Nang-suo and Karwa was that later, when a group of Red lamas adhered to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privileges of their chief lama were transferred to the intendancy of the monastery, while the privileges of a Karwa chief

[44] Mathias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, 262, Wien, Herold, 1949.

[p. 18(A)]

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of the Yellow Sect were transmitted to his apprentice (usually his nephew) and remained as before a private interest.

Nang-suo

Until 1723 there were eighteen Nang-suo in the country of Hsining. Sixteen of them were abolished after the revolt of that year. Only two managed to survive: the Nang-suo of Editsa, which had sent its allegiance to the Chinese General Nien Keng-yao before the troubles started, and the despised Sina Nang-suo which had been implicated in the revolt but changed its mind after the revolt appeared to be about to fail.[48] This explanation afforded by the Amban of Hsining and the history tallies well with what is told by the Monguors and the lamas all over the country, who disdainfully recall the sayings: *Chien pu kuo Editsa Nang-suo*, "no slyer creature than the Editsa Nang-suo," and *Sina Nang suo chiao ts'ai liang chia*, "The Sina Nang-suo plants his feet in two boats [is untrustworthy]." The Editsa Nang-suo having gone over to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privilege was inherited by the intendancy of the monastery. Editsa was still flourishing in 1910–1920; Sina, however, had passed through a bad period.

According to the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, pp. 6*a* and 6*b*;

> Sina was a group which submitted in 1380 and lived inside the wall, grazing its animals 60 *li* north of Hsining [region of T'o-pa], having a city and houses, and engaging in agriculture; it possessed a Buddhist temple, and its lama had received the title of "Master of the Empire," with silver and ivory seals. It was a group of 500 families, comprising more than 1,500 persons. It offered a yearly tribute of more than 300 horses. One of its subtribes was called the Small Sina tribe and lived in Ku-shan; its tribute was 30 or more horses. Its other subtribe was the Ssu-ta-lama tribe, and lived near the temple of Hsieh-erh-kang-chin; its tribute was 50 or more horses.

After the revolt, troubles did not cease within the Sina tribes, whose subjects had been compelled to participate in the rebellion at the beginning by the Nang-

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[48] *Tung-hua-lu*, First year of Yung-cheng period, 3: 23*a*, 25. *Ming-shih-lu*, Yung-cheng period, *Chuan* 12, p. 27. In 1707 Father Regis, S.J., was sent by the emperor, during the period K'ang Hsi, to draw the map of the empire (Henri Cordier, *Histoire de la Chine*, 3: 333, Paris, Geuthner, 1920). He remained in Hsining for a month, visited T'o-pa and writes: "This village is not administered by Chinese officials, but depends on a lama, always chosen from the same family which belongs to this country. This family is the most outstanding one in the country. The lama administers these Tibetans (*Hsifan*) and punishes misbehavior. This people, not wholly subject to China, are rarely summoned by the Chinese officials, and seldom obey their orders. The lama chief does not seem to trouble the subjects very much, providing they honor him and fulfill their obligations toward Buddha, which seem not to be too burdensome. The three or four Armenians who were trading furs in T'o-pa, seemed very pleased with the chief lama, and praised his administration." (J. B. DuHalde, *Description géographique de la Chine*, 49–50, 1736.) Schram, *op. cit.*, 36.

[p. 18(B)]

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suo chief, and had suffered enormously. Finally they refused to deliver taxes to the Nang-suo and asked the Chinese officials to accept them as Chinese subjects. The request was readily granted, and an arrangement was made between the Chinese officials and the Nang-suo by which every year the subprefect of Hsining was to pay 1,500 strings of cash to the Nang-suo; the Nang-suo could only collect the rents, and his subjects were henceforth considered Chinese subjects. This happened after 1755, because the *Annals* (ch. 19, 15*a*), say that "in 1755 the chief of the Sina tribe, which numbered 1,379 persons, resided in the village of the upper Sina lamasery." In 1910 most of its fields had been sold by the Sina intendancy, which had adhered to the Yellow Sect. Its resources were so depleted that the seals of the former Nang-suo had been mortgaged to the lamasery of Kumbum, which thereby acquired the authority to collect the rents from the remaining properties.

The Lung pen Nang-suo is often spoken about in the country. It lived on both sides of the wall in former times and submitted in 1380, together with its neighbors, the Sina tribe, and then moved inside the wall. It numbered 130 families. Its lama chief had received the title of "Master of the empire" and the official rank of Chih-hui. Its subtribe, the Pen-pa-erh had one hundred or more families (*Annals*, ch. 19, p. 15*a*). In 1916 the impoverished chief was still called Nang-suo lama locally. He lived in the Naring Valley. He told me that his lamasery had been destroyed in 1723 and that the lamas had disappeared. His subjects, who had become subjects of the Chinese officials, lived in Ta-Hsiao-Kang-ch'eng. His predecessors had sold nearly all the fields and he could not collect the rents on the remaining fields. His neighbors said that his predecessors had mortgaged his seals to the intendancy of Sina. In early times they had two temples, Lung pen kui ssu and Lung hua ssu, which were destroyed during the revolt. Only one side of one of the temples had been rebuilt and the lama still collected some alms among his former 373 families. Often recalled also in local tradition are the Nang-suos of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, abolished after 1723. They were important in former times.

Karwa [48]

According to a tradition well known all over the region, thirteen Karwa were established north of the Hsining River during the Ming dynasty. In 1912 seven of them still existed, Li-ch'i, Ch'ien-tsun-urgon, Pei-cha-erh-ti, Sia-mer, Tsan-tsa, Chao-chia, and Huo-puo. There are no records of Karwa south of the

[48] The word *Karwa* is used in the country to designate the residences inhabited by Living Buddhas in the lamaseries; it is also used to indicate a domain and subjects granted by the Chinese emperors of the Ming dynasty to meritorious lamas as their "personal" property with "right of bequeathing" it to their lama successor. It does not mean a grant of domains and subjects bestowed on a community of lamas or a lamasery.

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Hsining River. A Karwa is a kind of mediaeval seig- 175
niory presided over by a lama. Granted by the em- 792
peror, it is a more or less vast domain in which usually 554
forty to fifty families live. Pei-cha-erh-ti Karwa had 793
152 families (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, p. 16a). The tenants had in former times been subjects of the lama. There is a temple on the domain, and next to it is the residence of the lama seignior, with granaries. The domain is the personal property of the lama lord who is completely independent of any Living Buddha or monastery. The three lordship lamas I have met told me that the Ming emperors had granted this privilege to their ancestor lamas, each of whom belonged at that time to the Red Sect and was married. Each of these lamas had been granted a Karwa because he had submitted to the Ming with his small tribe, or had induced a neighboring tribe to submit to the emperor or had rendered service to the Chinese army, giving secret information to the officers fighting the revolted Tibetans. They explained the disappearance of the six Karwa which no longer existed by the fact that these lamas did not follow the Yellow Sect and remained married. They said that theoretically among the lamas of the Red Sect one son should succeed the father as lama of the sect, but in reality when the father died his sons divided among them the property and the subjects, and the Karwa vanished, with the result that the temple became the property of the village. The seigniors who went over to the Yellow Sect, however, managed to survive by the fact that the lama lord of every generation adopted only one apprentice lama, to whom he bequeathed the domain. The apprentice was usually one of his nephews, and so the Karwa continued its existence, the lama collecting rents from the tenants and imposing some corvées. After the revolt of 1723 the domains of the Karwa were not confiscated but the subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials. Only rents, not taxes, were allowed to be collected and corvées continued to be imposed.

The lama seignior of the Li-ch'i Karwa (who is a 792
member of the powerful Li T'u-ssu clan) fulfills, of his 796
own free will, an important function at the monastery of Chie-bzang, but he remains the proprietor of his Karwa and has one apprentice who will inherit the domain. Every year on the tenth of the tenth moon, he invites to his small temple four lamas, alternatively, of the Yellow and the Red Sects, to pray from sunrise to sunset for blessings upon his "subjects," who bring a contribution of twenty pounds of butter and five sheep. The lord provides tea and noodles. The subjects all enjoy attending the religious ceremony and the annual dinner, and are used to the custom of going home at sunrise the next day. The Pei-cha-erh ti Karwa is still celebrated for the fasting rites held at its temple, about which more will be said.

The lord of the Tsan-tsa Karwa, feeling lonely in his 792
estate, married a young girl in 1914. All the members 554
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of his family assembled and protested, urging that a boy, a nephew of the family, be adopted by the lord as his apprentice, and that a testament should be written and signed by the officials of the village, in order to make sure that after the death of the lord, the domain and his private property (sheep, cows, horses) would be bequeathed to the apprentice. The apprentice would first have to be sent to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to receive a serious religious education. Not long after the birth of a child to the lord and his wife, the lord died. His wife received a small field and some cattle, but the Karwa was inherited by the apprentice. The domain passes at every generation to a member of the same family (from uncle to nephew). The family retains the right to keep an eye on the regular succession, and so in the country a Karwa is considered to be the property of the Karwa lama and his family. This fact reveals a social tradition existing throughout the country, and the pride of the old families to whose lama a Karwa had been granted by the emperors in former times.

This pride appears to be the reason why, when a lama lord dies without having adopted an apprentice, the whole family convenes and decides to offer the domain to a lama member of the family. However, when there is not such a lama, the members of the family divide among them the domain and private property of the deceased, and the Karwa vanishes.

Ch'an-shih-chia ("Master in Dhyana" families)

This institution, dating from the Ming, seems to be in the line of the Karwa. In Huang-chung there was attached to the title of Ch'an-shih ("Master in Dhyana"), the privilege of receiving every year from the Chinese administration a fixed quantity of wheat. At the same time, if the lama happened to acquire some fields on which to build a grain or oil mill, his fields and mills were exempt from taxes. The title of Ch'an-shih appears to have been hereditary. This seems to be the reason why the people always talk of Master in Dhyana "families" and seldom of Master in Dhyana lamas. In the country north of the Hsining River, with which I was best acquainted, there were still several Masters in Dhyana, independent of any monastery, living next to their relatives and each having a small temple of his own. The family tried to provide a nephew as an apprentice, for such a lama would upon the death of his master become Master in Dhyana by the transfer of the original seal and the original patent letters.

Most of these Masters in Dhyana lived in opulence, their families being exempted from land taxes because they were supposed to till the fields of the lama. In Suo-pu-t'an I encountered the Shih-hu Ch'an-shih-chia, a layman, who enjoyed, with his family, the privileges of a Ch'an-shih lama. Since there had been no lama in the family to succeed the previous master he had in-

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herited the privilege by virtue, he said, of possessing the seal and the patent letters. Every year he received his wheat support and was exempt from land and mill taxes. To him, this condition seemed very reasonable! The same condition existed in Sha-t'ang-ch'uan with the layman Hsiao-ssu Ch'an-shih chia. It is hard to understand how the privilege could have continued after the revolt of 1723, when under orders from Peking all the seals and patent letters granted during the Ming were withdrawn.

These facts shed light on the peculiar way in which Lamaism was diffused during the Ming in Huang-chung, and explain one of the reasons why the monasteries became the proprietors of vast domains, governing subjects and exerting a tremendous influence all over the country.

During the Yüan and the very beginning of the Ming dynasties, small communities of lamas of the Red Sect had been founded by wandering lamas who had attained a certain local reputation for skill in necromancy, or who by asceticism had gained a reputation as holy men, thereby attracting a few disciples. The bonds which bound these married or unmarried men were, without doubt, looser than the bonds which tied the lamas of the lamaseries of the later Yellow Sect. However, it may be assumed that in those times none of these little communities yet exerted a prominent influence upon the country, and for that reason nothing about them was recorded in the *Annals*.

The minor importance of these monasteries seems to account also for the fact, that at the beginning of the Ming (1368), the lama, Sanla, could be appointed chief of the board of lamas. The fact, however, of the institution of such a board at the beginning of the Ming seems to prove that at that time although the communities were small, the total number of lamas was large enough to justify the creation of such a board.[47]

NO LIVING BUDDHAS IN HUANG-CHUNG DURING THE MING DYNASTY

It is noteworthy that at that time titles and benefits were indiscriminately bestowed upon meritorious lamas, lamas who were chiefs of tribes, chiefs of more or less important communities, and even single lamas. There were as yet no Living Buddhas.

The first Living Buddha, recognized as the reincarnation of Tsong khapa (1357–1419), the founder of the Yellow Sect, was Gedun-gyatso who in 1475 inherited the succession of the second head of the sect. The prin-

[47] The Ming policy of the T'u-ssu, Karwa, and Nangsuo institutions, and of the grant of Kuo shih and Ch'an-shih titles to lamas with their respective privileges, was not peculiar to Huang-chung. It was also followed in south Kansu, Lin-t'ao, and Ho-chou, where nineteen T'u-ssu, Kuo-shih and Ch'an-shih, etc., were created. After the revolt of 1723 the Chinese officials of Ho-chou asked for the abolition of these institutions, because of oppressions by T'u-ssu and lamas (*Annals* of the Province of Kansu, ch. 88: 12-13).

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monastery of Erh-ku-lung in the Lamaist world, the three personalities who are keystones of its institutions, will be briefly described. 175 792

Chang-chia Hutukhtu

In 1642 a boy was born in the village of I-k'o. He was recognized as the reincarnation of a lama of Erh-ku-lung born into the Chang family (hence his name *Chang-chia*) in the Hung nai Valley, sixty *li* northeast of Hsining.[88] He started his religious career at the age of five at the small hermitage belonging to Erh-ku-lung called T'an rim tarpa. He entered the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in 1651. In 1661 he was sent by Sumpa to Tibet where he studied for twenty years in the most celebrated colleges, knitting friendly relations with the most renowned lamas of Tibet, and teaching and preaching in the colleges. He returned to Erh-ku-lung. In 1682 his beloved teacher, the great lama of Galdan, was invited by the emperor to Peking. Chang-chia, having scored successes in Tibet, seething with ambition, and eager to rub elbows with the rich and the great of the world, hurried off to meet his teacher in Kukunor. He obtained permission from his teacher to follow him on his trip to Peking as a "humble member of his retinue" (Huth, 276). In Peking the teacher recommended his learned pupil to the emperor.[89]

After being chosen Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1687, the emperor called him to Peking in 1693. Sumpa, leading a big retinue, brought him to the capital. The [554] ●

[88] Ting Chih-ts'un, Li tai Chang-chia Hutukhtu, *Pien-cheng kung-lün* 6 (4) : 4.

[89] Ting Chih-ts'un, Li tai Chang-chia Hutukhtu, *Pien-cheng kung-lün* 6 (4) : 4, 1947. Much confusion has existed concerning the origin of the Chang-chia reincarnation. Mayers, *Chinese government*, Hong Kong, Kelly & Walsh, 1896, 3rd ed., No. 598 says: "The metropolitan Chang-chia, re-embodiment of a Hutukhtu, dispatched under the same title, to represent him near the Chinese court toward the close of the 17th century, by the Dalai Lama of that period, received with profound respect by K'anghsi, was assigned a residence at Dolon nor; by decree of Ch'ienlung, the successor of the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, removed his residence from Dolon nor to the Yung-ho-kung, where state services were performed under direction of the Metropolitan who it is said wielded supreme religious sway."

Baron A. von-Stael-Holstein, Remarks on an XVIIIth century Lamaist document, Kuo-hsueh chi-k'an, 401, 1923, says: "K'ang hsi invited the 5th Dalai Lama to Peking, who refused, and Nag-dban blo-bzan cos-ldan (Chang-chia XIV) took the Dalai's place. He is supposed to be the incarnation of Mkhyen-rab-grags-pa hodzer, born in Chang-chia village, Kansu-Kukunor, hence the name Chang-chia."

Walter Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos*, 48: 499, 1953: says that according to a Mongol source the 5th Dalai Lama sent a lama, Che-sen Chorji to the Manchu emperor T'ai-tsung, with letters and presents. He was delegate to the city of Mukden in 1637. T'ai-tsung appointed the lama envoy to be his own chaplain, praising him as Chang-chia Hutukhtu. Heissig notes (note 132, p. 500) that the Mongol text about the appointment of the envoy as Chang-chia is wrong, because Chang-chia came first to the Manchu court at Peking in 1687.

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emperor appointed him to the office of Jassak Great Lama, the highest office entrusted to lamas in Peking; he bestowed on him the dignity and diploma of Hutukhtu, and a golden seal, together with the eulogistic title, "entirely virtuous, vastly compassionate, great state teacher, one whose head is annointed."[90] He was vested with powers of spiritual control over the Mongols of Chahar. 175 792

The bolt of fame had struck the ambitious Chang-chia. Inner Mongolian, and Khalkha princes and nobles gathered at Dolon nor to adore the great living Buddha.

In 1696–1697, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, already raised to a high pitch of fame in Mongolia and Peking, was delegated by the emperor to go to Lhasa to bring to the recently enthroned sixth Dalai Lama a seal and diploma, and to convey imperial gifts to the Panchen and the chief lamas of the most important monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends. This diplomatic mission immensely enhanced the prestige of Chang-chia in the Lamaist world of Tibet. Back in Peking, he was showered with gifts by the emperor. 175 792 648 554

In 1709, when he was on a vacation in Erh-ku-lung, the Monguors, exulting with pride, had a feeling for him that was a little short of idolatrous. He reformed the program of studies at Erh-ku-lung and appointed eminent teachers. It is not amazing that the lamas dreamed up an illustrious pedigree for their distinguished Hutukhtu, the favorite of the emperor and idol of the people, and that they imagined thirteen reincarnations preceding the reigning one. The first was no less than Chan dana, a contemporary and disciple of the Buddha himself. As for these thirteen fabulous reincarnations, it is enough to say that the so-called thirteenth rebirth was that of a boy born in Chang-chia village, who became a simple lama and about whom nothing more is known. During the administration of Sumpa he was a simple lama at Erh-ku-lung. After his death a boy born in I-k'o in 1642 was considered to be his reincarnation and consequently was called the fourteenth Chang-chia. This "fourteenth reincarnation," actually the first, recommended by his teacher to the emperor, was the lucky founder of the glorious series.

Chang-chia Rolpa dorje, the fifteenth reincarnation (1717–1786), in fact the second, was brought to Peking at the age of seven. Considered as a miracle child endowed with an illustrious pedigree, he was the playmate and intimate friend of the imperial princes. In 1734, at the age of seventeen, he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Szech' uan (mGar t'ar), with an order to accompany, as imperial envoy, the banished seventh Dalai Lama on his reinstallation in Lhasa. (The Dalai Lama had been banished in 1728.[91]) This second diplomatic mission surrounded the Chang-chia

[90] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, ti 5 p'ien*, 93.
[91] Petech, *op. cit.*, 157.

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reincarnations with an aura of glory. At Lhasa the lamas paid enthusiastic adoration to him. Their devotion went so far as to make them struggle and compete for the drinking of a draught of the water Chang-chia had used for his toilet.[92] Back in Peking, Chang-chia asked the emperor to return to the Dalai Lama the confiscated districts of Lit'ang and Batang, and to grant him a subsidy. Only a subsidy of 5,000 taels was allowed.[93]

Rolpa dorje was also a learned man. His appointment by the emperor as chief of the commission for the revision of the translation into Mongol of the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur*,[94] enhanced his prestige in the learned world, even as his learned works were studied in the colleges of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung (Huth, 291). In 1725 the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama received imperial envoys, presenting them with a complete set of the *Kanjur*, together with its supplements, and the complete works of Tsong khapa and the first Chang-chia Hutukhtu.[95]

The Monguor Chang-chia Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung, conspicuous for their great abilities, extensive learning, high position at the Peking court, and former diplomatic missions, wielded an enormous influence in the highest Lamaist circles in Tibet. The appointment by the emperor of the regent Gyal ts'ab in Tibet, during the reign of the eighth Dalai Lama (1759–1804) was obtained by the influence of the Chang-chia II.[96] The influence which the Panchen Lama exercised over the temporal affairs of Tibet and the interest he enjoyed at the Peking court through his friend, Chang-chia, the lama primate, made the emperor, Ch'ien-lung, invite him to Peking, where he arrived in 1780 and died of smallpox.[97]

George Bogle in 1774–1775 was trying to get an agreement from the well-disposed Panchen Lama for Indian trade with Tibet. Even more important than the Panchen's promise to send envoys was his assurance to Bogle that he had written the Grand Lama at Peking, who had great influence with the emperor, informing him that the English were now masters of Bengal, that

[92] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 99.

[93] Petech, *op. cit.*, 162.

[94] Walter Heissig, Die Mongolischen Publication und Uebersetzungs Wesen der Mandjuzeit, *Sinologica* 3 (3): 205, 1953. Translations of Vols. 1 to 22 of the *Kanjur* by learned Mongol lamas already existed at the time of Ligdan Khan 1604–1634: the translation of 1717–1720 is almost textually the same as the former. The duty of Chang-chia, head of the committee, consisted in supervising the dogmatical genuineness of the translation. The Mongol translation of Dharani was published in 1759. More than 200 translations of Tibetan works still exist in Mongol.

[95] Petech, *op. cit.*, 9. One of the works of the second Chang-chia Hutukhtu is known in Europe through the translation of Eugen Pander, *Das Pantheon des Tschang tscha Hutukhtu*, Berlin, 1890.

[96] Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 46.

[97] *Ibid.*, 47. Schuyler Cammann, The Panchen Lama's visit to China in 1780, *Far Eastern Quart.* 9 (1): 6–18, 1949.

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co-proprietor and chief of Erh-ku-lung. The figures of these three men throw a lengthening shadow over the glorious monastery of Erh-ku-lung, and over the Lamaist world in Tibet, Mongolia, Peking, and Huang-chung, during the Ch'ing dynasty.

A boy born in T'u-kuan, located at the foot of the T'u-kuan Mountains close to Erh-ku-lung, became a lama at the former hermitage of Erh-ku-lung, which had rapidly grown under the administration of Sumpa. The boy was born in the Wang chia tribe, subject to the Li T'u-ssu, and is said to have belonged to the Li T'u-ssu clan. It is also told that he was born in the Sina tribe in the Ch'ing-yang-ch'uan, in the village of T'u-kuan. The date of his birth is not recorded. However, it is noted that he fulfilled the office of Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1672, at the time when Chang-chia was studying at Lhasa.[102]

A boy born in 1680 was said to be the reincarnation of this T'u-kuan Lama and was called the Living Buddha T'u-kuan Nag dban C'osky rgyamts'o. The series of the T'u-kuan reincarnations started with him. Upon completing his studies in Tibet, he was chosen Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1705. He founded a hermitage at C'os bzan, where he lived in retired seclusion with seven lamas, meditating and teaching.[103] He was the teacher of the young fifteenth Chang-chia incarnation and the famous Sumpa. He became the equal of Chang-chia when the Emperor K'ang Hsi called him to Peking in 1715, and bestowed on him gifts, the title of Hutukhtu and a seal. He enjoyed the high esteem of the emperor who, in 1719, ordered the lama, Skal-bzan rgya-mts'o, administrator of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu in order to have him administer his monastery.[104] (Something wrong may have happened at Kumbum.)

In 1720 the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was sent on a diplomatic mission to greet the seventh Dalai Lama on the upper reaches of the Yangtse River on his way to Lhasa.[105] The Dalai Lama had been confined at Kumbum for five years. He was brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence. T'u-kuan, in his capacity of imperial envoy, was granted the title of Hutukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas. He assisted at the enthusiastic enthronement of the Dalai Lama and brought letters and imperial gifts to

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provided by the subsequent troubled history of Erh-ku-lung (see below, p. 36).

Summarizing the literary activities of the Chang-chia incarnations, as chiefs of the imperial committee for the printing of Mongol books in Peking, they had printed in Mongol, during a period of 261 years (1650–1911), 108 volumes of the Kanjur, 226 of the Tanjur and 220 other works (2).

These facts afford conclusive evidence of the very important role played by the Monguor Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung in the diffusion of Lamaism in their own country, and in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet.

[102] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 12.

[103] Huth, *op. cit.*, 283.

[104] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 15.

[105] Petech, *op. cit.*, 60.

the Panchen Lama and the heads of the most important monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends.[106] He enjoyed a tremendous surge of popularity in Tibet and was honored in the same way as Chang-chia.

The fame of Erh-ku-lung thus rose higher and higher. In Huang-chung the Monguors were elated and proud of their glorious monastery and their eminent lamas. Back in Dolon nor, the Mongol and Khalkha princes paid him their adoration with the same devotion they had given to Chang-chia. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu received new titles from the emperor and was showered with favors. A permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He obtained for the Great Lama of the monastery of Labrang the title of Erdeni Nomun khan.[107] While on vacation at Erh-ku-lung, he died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri which belonged to Erh-ku-lung.

His next incarnation was T'u-kuan Blo-bzan C'oskyi Nima, born in 1737. He was a celebrated teacher, well known in the Lamaist world for his proficiency in logic and philosophy. He wrote his famous *History of the Doctrines of the Yellow Sects*, which he finished a year before his death in 1802. According to Baradijn, this work, in twelve chapters, is the only Tibetan study dealing with all the Tibetan sects, including those of India, China, and the old Bön.[108] He received from the emperor the same titles as his predecessor and was granted the same favors and the same permanent duty at Peking. In 1790 he built the temple of Hung-ku-ssu, to which the emperor granted the name of Yen-hsi-ssu.[109] He died in 1802. The subsequent incarnations followed in the steps of their predecessors, enjoying the same titles and privileges during the Empire and under the Republic.

Sumpa Hutukhtu

Sumpa Hutukhtu is so called by Sarat Chandra Dass, the celebrated historiographer and chronologist of Tibet. Born in 1704, he is said to be the first reincarnation of the founder of Erh-ku-lung. However, because Erh-ku-lung was founded in 1604, the first Sumpa was supposed to have been a man about twenty or thirty years of age. So it would seem that a second Sumpa was intercalated between them. Sumpa II must have been the reincarnation of Sumpa I; otherwise the denomination of Sumpa is hard to explain. This supposition does not seem to be unusual if we take account of the process used for the first reincarnations of Chang-chia

[106] Huth, *op. cit.*, 283; Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 178–9.

[107] Huth, *op. cit.*, 287.

[108] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 442, Notes 655 and 656, p. 182. The work has been translated by Sarat Chandra Dass in his Contributions on the religion and history, etc. of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal* 50 and 51, 1881–1882. I was surprised to read in it much data about Taoism and Confucianism with which he was very well acquainted.

[109] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5): 12; *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih*, *op. cit.*, 148–149.

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t'ung wei, in order to build the later famous monastery of Seerkok, Gadan Ch'osling, also called Kou-mang-ssu, and Kuang-hui-ssu.[116]

The new daughter monastery flourished so fast as to have, before the revolt of 1723, two thousand lamas, and three colleges, among which the Tch'an-njid College was very renowned. Probably very soon Seerkok became an autonomous monastery. It developed to such an extent as to administer nine branches of its own and to have eighteen Living Buddhas within its walls.

Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the head of the lamasery, celebrated for his *Geography of Tibet and Mongolia*, is known as the Tsanpo Nomun-khan of Amdo.[117] In 1727 he was sent by the Dalai Lama to court and received from the emperor the title of Hutukhtu. He was showered with gifts and a permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He became one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung.[118]

In 1693 the hermitage of Byan-c'ub existed, dependent on Erh-ku-lung. It was here that Chang-chia retired.[119] In 1705 T'u-kuan established the hermitage of C'os bzan where he retired with seven lamas.[120] He died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri, also dependent on Erh-ku-lung.[121] In 1711 the learned lama, Zabsdrun of Temma, near Erh-ku-lung, having been appointed teacher by Chang-chia[122] at the College of Tantras in Erh-ku-lung, founded a branch in Kan-ch'an-ssu which in 1915, had two hundred lamas and two Living Buddhas.

In 1730 the Great Sumpa, on his return from Tibet, immediately founded the monastery of Bshad sgrub with eighty lamas and fifteen from Bsam gtang glin.[123] From 1604 until 1730 the building of hermitages and bigger monasteries was a real obsession among the prominent lamas and chiefs of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung and its branches. The records of the havoc wrought during the crushing revolt of 1723 by the Chinese army reveal more names of sacked and destroyed monasteries: Chie-Bzan with eight hundred lamas, the monasteries of Hsia, Yao, Ku, Chu-erh, Kan-chu-erh, and more than one thousand grottoes in the mountains; also the monastery of Shih-men-ssu with two hundred lamas and two Living Buddhas; Ch'i-chia-ssu with two subsidiaries[124]; T'ien T'ang-ssu with two hundred lamas, three Living Buddhas,

[116] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1) : 45; 3 (4) 10; 5: 13a.

[117] Sarat Chandra Dass, Brief account of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1 and 27, 1887. This work was translated into Russian in 1895.

[118] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 123.

[119] Huth, *op. cit.* 277.

[120] *Ibid.*, 283.

[121] *Ibid.*, 288.

[122] *Ibid.*, 279.

[123] Sarat Chandra Dass, Life of Sumpa khampo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 198, 1889.

[124] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1) : 46*b* and 47*a*.

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chiliarchs still exist in Kumbum, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok), meting out punishments (instruments of torture are still displayed at lama courts), and imprisonment (the prison of Seerkok still exists); caring for the preservation of peace and order in the territories assigned to them, inquiring about travelers passing through it; administering the distribution of fields, the imposition and collection of taxes, the imposition of tolls on bridges (the bridge of T'ien t'ang and raft of Kan ch'an), and the imposition of corvées. 792 175 692

At the time of the inroads of marauding Mongol and Tibetan tribes, the revolts of Moslems, and the lama revolt against China in 1723, the subjects were compelled by the lamas to take sides with them in combat and in defending the lamaseries and their territories. In short, the privileges bestowed upon the chiefs of the lama institutions before 1723 were far-reaching. They were units, scattered over the country, administering their subjects according to their own rules and customs, entirely free from the interference of Chinese officials.

The lamaseries were the administrative centers of the groups subordinated to them. All the country's wealth flowed into their granaries and treasuries. Moreover, the lamas tended herds of cows, sheep, and horses, built oil and grain mills, and received donations. The lamaseries were the only places where huge sums of money could be borrowed (Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu borrowed money from them by mortgaging parts of their properties). They removed the wealth of the country from circulation and hoarded it or used it to found new lama communities (the tremendous branching out of monasteries between 1600 and 1723). They did not even use it for charitable institutions for the people of the country. 792 175 425 426

The lamaseries, originally built in lonely places and in remote valleys, in order that the monks would not be disturbed in their meditations and studies by the tumult of the world, were in olden times the most animated places of the country. In autumn the subjects carried taxes and rents on long caravans of donkeys to their granaries. The measuring of grain went on, as it did all over Asia, with rumbling noise and cries, bursting with activity for weeks in succession. At the time of exchanging tea for horses all the subjects were interested in the assessment of the horses. The tumult and discussions on the grounds of the monastery lasted for days and days. The selection of the horses for tribute to the emperor was conducted with like tumult and confusion, and often for the same length of time. Two or three times a year large festivals were held at the monasteries. They were attended by all the people of the country interested in horse racing, wrestling, singing, dancing, and in the big fairs held at that time. Chinese traders came from the city, pitched their tents, paid toll to the lamas, and sold their wares. The Monguors and Tibetans also arrived with their homespun 792 175 651 427 554 443

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prostrations and by presentation of the ceremonial scarf. They escorted them to the branch where a sheep was killed and a dinner enjoyed. 175 792 794

DOMAINS AND REVENUES

An affiliate, in order to enjoy viability, had to possess a territorial domain. The mother house, where possible, assigned to it a part of its own domain; where this was not possible, the founder made arrangements to provide a domain. The T'u-kuan bought some ground for his affiliate of Ma-t'i-ssu. Every year the affiliate had to pay the interest of the capital thus invested, amounting to 60 taels or 36½ bricks of tea. The rector of the affiliate was bound to account for the material administration of his institution, receipt of rents, selling of trees, investment of the capital of the affiliate, and herds, and required a fixed sum to be sent out of the revenues to the intendancy of the founder. Finally, the intendant of the founder supervised the material administration of the subsidiary. When recalcitrant subjects refused obeisance, the rector and the disciplinarian sent them to the mother house, but such subjects would quit the monastery before they were summoned to see the founder. 175 792 571 794

OBLIGATION TO A FA-T'AI WHEN INVITED

When one of the members of the subsidiaries is invited to take the office of Fa-t'ai (Lob-pon) at the mother house, he is never allowed to decline the invitation, even after the subsidiary has become entirely independent, and even if the man thus summoned to officiate as invited Fa-t'ai is a Living Buddha or the supreme chief of the independent monastery. This custom seems to be general.

OBLIGATION TO JOIN THE RETINUE OF THE CHIEF OF THE LAMASERY

When the founder of the affiliate makes a long journey or accompanies an alms expedition to far-off countries, the branches must send lamas to make up his retinue. When the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu went to Peking to fulfill the assignment entrusted to him at the capital, even the independent old branches were kind enough to present a couple of lamas each to enhance his prestige. When he went to Peking for the last time, seventeen independent branches sent lamas. Lamas like to visit the capital, since it is a remunerative business. In the Orient a traveler always does some business on the way, especially an eminent personage such as T'u-kuan, traveling as a state official. He and his retinue enjoyed the privilege of going everywhere free of taxes. 175 792 484 [534]

AUTONOMY OF BRANCH LAMASERIES

How did the subsidiaries become independent? The tragic events which occurred at Ch'ü-t'an and Yao-ts'ao-t'ai have already been recorded. Although such 175 792 794 571

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for the next two years collecting alms; Seerkok offered a thousand big trees, Labrang $6,000, Erh-ku-lung $1,000. After three years the temple was rebuilt.

In 1910 the same thing happened at the monastery of Chu erh under similar circumstances.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE LAMAS

FA-T'AI, CALLED "MASTER OF THE DOCTRINE" ("LOB-PON" OR "MK'AMPO")

The supreme chief of this independent institution is the Fa-t'ai. His office is the most honorable one a lama may fill. Fa-t'ais are chosen from among respectable lamas with a blameless record, celebrated for their knowledge. Not only lamas are invited to that office, but even Living Buddhas. Most of the eminent lamas in the country have been Fa-t'ais in nearly all the big lamaseries in Huang-chung. It has been recorded that a lama, even a Living Buddha, who is a member of an affiliate, never declines the invitation to fill this office at the mother house. Each college also has its own Fa-t'ai.

The office of Fa-t'ai is held for a term of three years only. The intendancy proposes to the supreme chief of the lamasery the name of the desired lama, and, on obtaining the consent of the supreme chief, sends lamas with the invitations. The Fa-t'ai lives in a beautiful residence and has as many lama servants as he desires. He is supposed to be the spiritual director of the institution which invited him, and to possess the power to reform the behavior of the lamas and to urge even stricter observance of the rules. It has been recorded how the stubborn Sumpa of Erh-ku-lung demanded in Lhasa the complete neutrality of the lamas of his community at the time when all the lamas of Lhasa prepared to participate in the civil war, and that finally the example set by him was followed by all the lamaseries of Lhasa. The same thing happened in Kumbum in 1895 at the time of the rebellion of the Moslems. The Fa-t'ai (m'Kampo) was the Living Buddha Mina, a quiet and peaceful man, who ordered the lamas to prepare only to defend the lamasery in case of attack. However, Shertoch, another Living Buddha of Kumbum, more turbulent and still recalling the destruction of the monastery except for the temple containing the celebrated tree during the revolt of 1862–1874, stirred the lamas to attack the enemy in the Moslem stronghold of T'opa, fighting on the side of the Chinese Army. After the first attacks had been unsuccessful, and several lamas had been killed, the war party grew bitter against Mina, who had to resign the post of Fa-t'ai and for some time was in fear of his life.[10] Achia, the chief and proprietor of Kumbum must have been an irresolute man, for he did not interfere even in such critical circumstances.

[10] Wellby, *op. cit.*, 281. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 72, 92.

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The Fa't'ai even has the power to redress the mal- 792
administration of the intendancies, but all these powers 794
are more nominal than effective, because the name of 554
the Fa-t'ai-to-be is proposed by the intendancies themselves to the supreme chief of the lamasery. They know very well which Fa-t'ais are bent on reforms and set in their ways, and in order to secure the peace of the lamas and their own, they avoid proposing the name of "trouble makers." The Fa-t'ais, on the other hand, are practical Orientals. They know their appointment lasts for only three years, and that, if they should start with reforms, they would meet with the general covert opposition of the intendancies and of all the lamas, and their reforms would be hamstrung, so why borrow troubles if the next Fa-t'ai would undo what his predecessor had built up?

Therefore, the powers of a Fa-t'ai in Huang-chung are in practice reduced to theoretical and honorary dimensions. They are venerated as the learned supreme teachers of the community and occupy the highest seat in the main temple, next to that of the supreme chief of the lamasery. They very seldom attend the ceremonies in the temple, except when a rich pilgrim invites the community to read texts in his behalf. They attend the ceremony at the time of the festivities in order to enhance the prestige of the community, and march in procession with a stately measured tread to the temple, with the traditional splendor of their retinue. In the fourth, sixth, and eighth months they preach in the temple for the lamas for a few days. The rest of the time they live a happy, peaceful life in their residences, devoting their time to study and meditation, and entrusting, as their predecessors did, the whole direction of the institution to the intendant, who in the final analysis governs the entire institution. Fa-t'ais are inclined more to the speculative than the practical side of life.

A Fa-t'ai has to be a rich man in order to be able to fulfill his office. On the one hand he receives a small salary and at the time of the distribution of alms he receives as many shares as the supreme chief of the lamasery, but the flow of donations is irregular and unpredictable. On the other hand, a Fa-t'ai, several times a year, has to entertain the lamas of the community in a more or less sumptuous manner, with tea, butter, *tsamba*, mutton, beef, rice, raisins, and rolls. Each lama has to take home a fixed number of rolls. These repeated entertainments of lamas, four or five times a year, are the big expenses which a poor Fa-t'ai cannot afford, and they explain why poor but celebrated lamas decline the offer of the office of Fa-t'ai in large communities.

INTENDANT

Every day, during the morning assembly, a few re- [124]
marks are made to the community by the intendant concerning the observance of rules, the decorum required of lamas, the punishments inflicted the previous day

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for infractions of the rules, the reform of some misbehavior, the arrival of distinguished guests or pilgrims, the offer of important gifts, and special religious ceremonies asked for by devout people. Herein consists the entire direction and instruction of the lamas, except for those who study in the colleges. 792 [626] 554 794

His role has been explained. He is the chief executive of the institution and administers its wealth. He has his own residence; his courtyard is his court of justice, where all the suits of the lamas and of the subjects are judged. All the officials of the institution receive his orders; he has one or two procurators helping him in the material administration, commanding a number of servants varying in accordance with the importance of the lamasery.

DISCIPLINARIANS

Their function is a really important element in the government of hundreds of uncivilized lamas and turbulent young folk living in the same lamasery, most of whom wander correctly along the path of monastic life more from fear of severe corporal punishment than for pure love of Buddha. I never saw a master of discipline in the lamaseries wearing a delightful smile. More often they seemed to be the type of tormentors that might step out of a picture of the Eighteen Buddhist Hells. No wonder the lamas, especially the young folk, dread them. 792 626 794

Usually there are two disciplinarians appointed by the Fa-t'ai for a term of one year. Often they have been proposed for the position by the intendant and his councillors. The disciplinarian presides over a number of lictors. During ceremonies in the temple the disciplinarian maintains order among the older lamas and keeps a constant eye on the novices. A breach of silence or any irreverence is punished instantly by blows from his rawhide whip. He takes note of the presence and absence of lamas at the morning ceremonies, and must investigate to find out whether lamas, not enrolled in the monastery, or laymen, are remaining with their friends at night inside the lamasery, and is responsible in general for the observance of the rules of the monastery.

Permission is required from the intendancy to leave the lamasery for a long time. Business deals are not to be made too ostentatiously. At night lamas may gather with friends to relax, talk, play cards and chess, but are not allowed to make much noise or to disturb the sleep of their neighbors. Gambling is not allowed, nor is the drinking of liquor. At night, the disciplinarian with some of his lictors, armed with rawhide whips, makes a tour of the lamasery. Lamas found brawling, quarrelling, or fighting are brought to the court of the intendant, where penalties are meted out in various brutal forms. The time of the festivities is a difficult one for the disciplinarians, when merchants pitch their tents, and lamas and people drive bargains. [273] [525] 794

[p. 62(8)]

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The master starts with the explanation of the text after the student has finished memorizing it, and so it happens that, after some time, one pupil is studying a second or a third book, while the others are still studying the first one. It is hard to teach pupils who have not received the same educational preparation and who progress at an unequal pace. The lack of elementary schools and high schools compels the master to adapt his teaching to the capacity and enthusiasm of each of the students, and inevitably the study loses its interest for pupil and master.

It is no wonder that very few learned lamas are encountered at present among the lamas of Huang-chung. The Living Buddha Goorong bzan, of the Red Sect, was the only man celebrated for his learning all over the country during the period 1910–1920, and he enjoyed this reputation among lamas of the Yellow Sect as well as the Red Sect. In Kumbum there was also a learned Living Buddha, Chao-hsi, who was said to have given instruction in the lamasery of Galdan in Tibet. In June, 1920, he was invited by the community of lamas of Kumbum to give instruction for ten days, and Kumbum seized this opportunity to invite all the lamas of Huang-chung to attend the ceremony, remembering that each attendant should offer a ceremonial scarf to the preacher, and bring his food with him. Kumbum, however, would offer two butter-teas to the participants each day. I was at Hua-yüan, a branch of Erh-ku-lung, at that time, and the intendant, in order to have his lamas attend the instruction, himself offered to provide them with the food for twelve days; but only 12 among the 58 lamas went to Kumbum.

In 1914 I was told that among the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, 1,300 were members of the College of Philosophy, 350 of the College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, 200 each in the College of Medicine and the College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules. All these numbers have to be reduced according to the ratio previously noted for the 3,000 lamas of Kumbum, but the proportion is the same for the members attending the colleges. Thus, among the 3,000 lamas 2,000 or two-thirds were enjoying a higher educational training in the colleges, and they remained members of the colleges for the whole of their lives. This was generally true for all of the colleges of Huang-chung.

The reason for the unusual attendance at the colleges is not that these institutions are centers of higher education, but rather that they provide meals for their members. The richest colleges, able to give the greatest number and the choicest meals, are the best attended, such as the College of Philosophy. Another attraction of this very popular college, teaching the most arduous of all the sciences, is the relaxation provided by the public disputations. The schedule of the meals provided by the various colleges supports these statements:

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1st month from 3rd to 18th, 3 cups of butter tea and tsamba, in all the colleges.
2nd month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
3rd month from 11th to 16th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
4th month from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges
5th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
6th month from 1st to 10th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
8th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
9th month from 15th to 19th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
10th month from 22nd to 29th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.
11th month, all through the month, 3 cups and tsamba, for philosophers only.
12th monthly from 1st to 7th, 3 cups and tsamba, in all the colleges.

During the first, second, eighth, and eleventh months there is an exception. During each of these months, the philosophers four times enjoy two cups of rice, meat, and raisins. Rich pilgrims are accustomed to ask for special ceremonies and prayers more often in the College of Philosophy than in the other colleges, and each time they offer rice, meat, raisins, and alms. The philosophers thus enjoy more extra dinners than the members of other colleges, and receive greater shares at the distribution of alms. It is not amazing that a lama who can hardly make ends meet, but is endowed with a philosophical brain, considers it more educational to enroll in the College of Philosophy than in the others. Herein lies the practical attraction to the study of philosophy.

PREDILECTION FOR THE COLLEGE OF PHILOSOPHY, ITS CAUSES

The public disputations are the next attraction. Among the huge numbers of members of the College of Philosophy there are always some exceptions. Small groups of students are encountered who are genuinely interested in study and under the direction of competent professors invited by them, they undergo a severe course of instruction. Two or three times every week they are engaged in public disputations, attended by all the members of the college. Students studying the same book form the center of a numerous audience, squatting on the ground of the courtyard in the open air. These disputation exercises have been described by many authors; it is sufficient to record that the same circles always enjoy the biggest attendance, not for the interest of the subject disputed, which is rather mild, but in order to enjoy the virtuosity of celebrated de-

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even minor Living Buddhas live in luxurious residences, with a private chapel and servants. Admittance to the Living Buddha is very complicated; no one is even allowed to enter the kitchen, at the entrance of which, when the Living Buddha is present, is a high stone, whitewashed and covered with a ceremonial scarf. 792 871 [511] [784]

The first duty of the intendant is to acquire for his new master two lama teachers of good repute and extensive learning, in order to provide for the education of the pupil. The first lessons consist of training the boy, grooming him for a big throne, to handle the protocol, as one to the manner born. The new pupil, clad in shining garments of embroidered silk, has to learn again and again to proceed with a stately, measured tread to his throne, which is draped with silk of royal yellow; to sit down gracefully, adjusting his clothes decently, and wearing a professional smile. He has to be trained by constant repetition to handle with elegance the stick with tufted end, and with solemnity to touch with it the heads of adoring pilgrims, nodding his head at the same time and smiling with calmness and serenity. 792 871 554 292

An old master told me that it takes weeks and weeks before a pupil sits well in the saddle, and that after months and months the exercises always have to be repeated, because, he said, the dignity of the pupil and the repute of the master are involved. At the same time, he said, the teacher has to instill in the pupil the idea of the eminence of his state in life, to make him conscious that the people adore him and that he really can procure the salvation of all beings. He has to explain his illustrious pedigree in order to enhance in him the sense of his dignity.[25] 792 554 869 868

No wonder that travelers meeting Living Buddhas, particularly young Living Buddhas, are impressed by the serious omnipotent look on their faces. It is a common saying that all Orientals are born actors, and the joke is well known, "Dress a beggar with the clothes of a governor of a province, and he will immediately play his role to the peak of perfection." Living Buddhas, however, receive an intensive training. 157

The little Living Buddha then starts reading and writing, memorizing texts and repeating them before his masters, who inflict corporal punishment when he fails to measure up to their expectations. The master, after punishing the pupil, kneels before him and apologizes for having been compelled to mete out punishment to so eminent a Living Buddha. It would seem that Living Buddhas, like ordinary lamas, are not very interested in poring over books and racking their brains over philosophical problems. The last T'u-kuan, born in 1894, had two masters, one from Erh-ku-lung and one sent by his friend the Living Buddha of Labrang. The master from Labrang, after some years, gave up all hope of making a learned man of his pupil, and packed 792 875 [876]

[25] Schuyler Cammann, *The land of the camel*, 79, 80, 94, New York, Ronald Press, 1950. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 127, 128.

[p. 68(B)]

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LAMAISM AND MONASTICISM

The study of the preceding topics will help in understanding what the Lamaist institution in Huang-chung, called lamasery, consists of fundamentally. It can best be done by means of defining the respective positions of its chiefs and its subjects. 792

In speaking about lamas and lamaseries, the terms "monk" and "monastery" are used indiscriminately, because we have no other terms. However, except for the facts that the lamas observe celibacy and that the lamaseries possess corporate wealth, it is impossible to compare the lamaseries with Christian monasteries.

The lamasery is a place where people gather for a spiritual purpose which is void of any definite qualification; where no direction is provided in any way to the inmates, who are absolutely free to adhere to whatever doctrine they wish.[26]

Lamas take the first and second vows, promising to Buddha to be faithful to them. They take no vows of submission to the chief of the community, promising nothing to him except to remain celibate and to observe the rules of the community, to attend the exercises in the temple, and not to disturb the peace of the lamasery.

The chief of the lamasery has no right to impose any duty on the lamas. A salary is paid for the fufilling of any office, and those who do not intend to earn the money, do not apply for the job. The chief of the lamasery has no right to interfere with the studies or the scientific trend of mind of the lamas. He only has the right to urge their presence at the ceremonies and knowledge of the texts recited at the meetings, because lamas attending the assembly receive a remuneration of tea, *tsamba*, meal, and a share of alms.

The chief of the lamasery has no right to interfere with the religious and spiritual education of the lamas. These fields are under the jurisdiction of the individual master who directs the studies of a pupil. The lamas have the right to bring suit against each other at the Chinese courts, and the pupil has the right to bring suit against his master, without interference from the chief of the lamasery. 792 554

The amazing respective positions of a chief of the lamasery and the lamas are crudely demonstrated by the facts of the admission of a lama to the lamasery, his retirement from it, and the conditions existing between them after the abandonment. Admission into a lamasery in Huang-chung is not complicated. Every unknown man who wears lama clothes and who goes straight to the courtyard of the intendancy of the monastery, presents 100 copper cash and asks for admittance, is given a scarf of felicity. He is led to see the intendant before whom he prostrates himself and to whom he presents the scarf; he promises to observe celibacy and the rules of the monastery, and to attend the morning ceremonies. His name is entered on the 792

[26] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 100.

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the cosmic tree on the mount Meru. In addition the whole series of good and evil spirits were both honored and combatted in the effort to make them inoffensive. Hoffmann concludes that it is hard to trace a sharp dividing line between the old Bön and shamanism.

It is instructive to read the review of Helmut Hoffmann by R. A. Stein [7] in order to get an idea of the confusion still persisting regarding the subject. Stein holds that the definition of Bön, said to be the religion of the Tibetans before the introduction of Buddhism, is not easy to write down, because Bön as a religious system is only known in its later state of development when it seems to be a variant of Lamaism. Bön conserves more archaic traits of the old popular religion than Lamaism does, but it does not enjoy a monopoly (p. 98), because the facts relating to Bön are encountered in Lamaism as well as in shamanism. The problem of the Iranian origin of Bön is difficult to solve (p. 99). The fact that the Bön worshipped the spirit of Heaven as a personal Supreme Deity seems to have to be taken with cautiousness (p. 101).

Kawaguchi [8] notes that originally Bönism very much resembled Hinduism, but now in theory it is almost Buddhism. Shorn of its sacrifices, its toleration of marriage and use of intoxicants, it is only Buddhism under another name.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE MONGUOR SHAMANS WITHIN THE CLAN

The social conditions of the shamans are the same as those of the commoners of the clan. They are not exempted from land taxes and corvées, but no special corvées are imposed upon them by the chiefs of the villages. They receive remuneration for the performance of rites in behalf of the community. The shamans enjoy no privileges in the Monguor community as was the rule in the time of Chingis Khan.

The Monguor shamans do not live in monasteries, where they might give spiritual help to the people; they live in various parts of the villages, each with his wife and children. Their economic mainstay is tilling the soil and breeding cattle; their subsidiary occupation is the performance of shamanistic rites either for the community of the village or for private families when invited by them. The margin of subsistence of most of the shamans is rather narrow.

No bonds tie them to the village where they are living; shamans of distant villages are invited by the villagers, and the shamans living in the village are frequently overlooked. Some shamans, celebrated all over the country for their proficiency in the art, are invited more often than others by village communities or private families.

The activities of the shamans are not limited by the

[7] R. A. Stein, *Journal Asiatique*, 1952: 97.

[8] Ekai Kawaguchi (Late rector of Gohyakurakan Monastery), *Three years in Tibet*, 131, Adyar, Madras, Japan, 1909.

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The emperor praised the military prestation of Li 175x
Yin and sent delegates from Peking with laudatory 648
letters and with the order to come to Peking, the ex- [703]
penses to be defrayed by the empire. He received the
promotion of Yu-fu tso-tu-tu and rich gifts. The next
year he was honored with the title of Duke of Hui
Ning, and received an emolument every year of 1,100
tan of grain. At the same time the emperor, with [554]
delicate attention, bestowed upon his deceased father, Li
Nan-ko, the same title of Duke of Hui Ning (*Annals*
of Kansu 42: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*a*).

Li Yin seemed to have reached the summit of a 175x
glorious career. However, a more eminent honor was 554
in store for him. His merits would be chiseled on a
stele in a temple built by himself to remind future
generations of the imperial dignities bestowed upon
him.

In the Kuang-fu-kuan, a temple built in 1426 in the 175x
northeast corner of the city of Hsining, the following
is chiseled on a stele (*Annals* of Kansu 30: 45*a–b*;
Annals of Hsining 35: 6*a–b*):

In 1422 in the eighth moon, Emperor Yung Lo, on his 175x
way back from an expedition in the desert took a breath in 211
Yu-lin (Shensi) and called to his tent the officials who had 539
won the most distinguished merits during the expedition. [703]
He granted Li Yin the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Pillar of
the Empire and Duke of Hui Ning. Then the duke asked
the emperor for permission to build in Hsining a temple [776]
in honor of the god of the war, in order to show gratitude
for the blessings bestowed upon the empire and the people,
and to secure more blessings in the future. The emperor
agreed. Back home, Li Yin ordered, a few days later, the
building of the temple. In the tenth moon of 1426 he
informed the emperor about the completion of the construc-
tion. The emperor granted to the temple the name "Kuang- [795]
fu-kuan" (Taoist temple of glory and felicity), and ap-
pointed five Taoist priests for the performance of the
sacrifices and worship in the temple.

One evening Li Yin was dreaming: he heard a man saying to him, "The God of War will appear." Instantly he dressed and adjusted his hat. Another man arrived carrying a tray with fine dishes. He invited Li Yin to come to his home to enjoy the dishes. Li Yin could not understand the circumstances of such an invitation. He thought it should be a spirit. Then he invited this man to come to his home. They were about to start with the dinner when all of a sudden the man said, "The spirit is there." Li Yin opened the door. He saw a man perfectly dressed, riding a white horse with a beautiful saddle and escorted by a numerous retinue. The man was like a king. The Taoist priest Ho Chao-tsung accompanied him, dressed in Taoist fashion, holding a book in his hands. He asked Li Yin: "The god will go first to the temple of the King Li. Is that correct?" Li Yin answered that he would first call at the Ning-fan Ssu (the temple of the appeased Tibetans). The entire group left. The sky was bright. On the way they passed a beautiful high building, enclosed by a high wall. They said, "The man who is living here does not belong to the lower range of society." They arrived at the gate of the temple. Li Yin dismounted from his horse. He was terrified. This happened on the eighth day of the seventh moon in 1423. In the winter of the same year the Duke was invited to see the emperor in Peking. He received his titles and precious gifts and returned to Hsining. What the Duke saw in his dream was the appearance of the god of war. It was a reward for his

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

on his second ascension to the throne, and to present his offices in these times of troubles which beset the empire. He was promoted Tu-tu ch'ien-shih and somewhat later Yu-tu-tu, Governor of Tat'ung. Two thousand Mongols arrived and plundered the region of Wei-yuan. Li Wen defeated and pursued them. The emperor granted him the title of Duke of Kao Yang. In the autumn of 1460 the Mongol Polai started a raid on a large scale invading Yen-men-kuan and devastating the country. The officials in the capital grew very anxious. Li Wen, however, forbade his troops to move. He was committed to prison and deliberation concerning capital punishment was held. The emperor pardoned him, but he was stripped of his titles except that of tu-tu ch'ien-shih, and an opportunity was granted to redeem his honor by fighting the Mongols in the regions of Yenan and Suei-te (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 28*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*b*).

What was the reason of the unusual behavior of Li Wen?

During the whole reign of Emperor Ching Ti (1450–1457) intrigues went on among the ambitious eunuchs and the most prominent officials, some of them friends and some of them foes of Emperor Ching Ti or of the secluded Emperor Yin Tsung. The factions seethed with hatred, accused and slandered each other, coveting the highest positions, wreaking ruin on their rivals. Many executions of high officials cast a blot in the reigns of Ching Ti and Yin Tsung.

General Shih Heng had defended for Emperor Ching Ti the capital beseiged by Esen in 1449. During the illness of Emperor Ching Ti, he hatched a plot preparing the dethronement of Ching Ti and the enthronement of Yin Tsung. Near Yin Tsung he accused his rivals and seven executions of the most prominent officials followed. He was bestowed with the title of Pilar of the empire. But a comet appeared in the sky. It was an ominous portent, indicating that the seven executions caused by Shih Heng were disapproved by Heaven. Shih Heng was committed to prison. Later during one of the brightest days it thundered terribly for a whole day, and one of the doorgates of the palace was smashed. Then deluging rains caused inundations in many provinces. Yin Tsung, at his wit's end, proclaimed an amnesty in 1458. Shih Heng could leave jail. In 1459 Shih Heng invited an astrologer to read his horoscope. The clever man guessing his client's meaning, predicted that in the Shih family an emperor would arise, founder of a new dynasty, but that he would have to act with the utmost caution. Shih Heng broke the news to his son, Shih Pien, for whom he had previously secured the office of Governor of Ta-t'ung. The young man, not cautious enough in his speech, let the secret leak out in Ta-t'ung. The officials of Ta-t'ung reported at court and judges arrived. Shih Pien poisoned himself. His father was committed to jail and ended his life in the same way. The officials of Ta-

175 648 [624] [654] [681] 175x 662 578 175x 663 [787] [657] 000

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The officials of Ta-t'ung were promoted. However, Li Wen was by-passed. Deeming that he had provided the judges with the most important data, he could not stand being ignored and waited for an opportunity to avenge himself on the promoted officials. Consequently he did not fight in 1460, giving them the opportunity to show their gratefulness and abilities to the emperor. Later in Yenan and in Suei-te he succeeded in fighting the Mongols and was promoted to tutu T'ung chih. During the period Ch'eng hua (1465–1488) he was sent to Hami with Commander Liu Wen. The expedition was unsuccessful. He died during the first years of the Hung-chih period (1488–1506) and was rehabilitated with the title of Duke of Kao Yang in the first years of the Cheng-te period (1506–1521) (*Annals* of Kansu 42 : 38*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27 : 12*a*). In 1468, during the time Li Wen was participating in the unsuccessful expedition in Hami, his young son Li Yung had been promoted to centurion and thereafter Chih-huei ch'ien-shih (*Annals* of Hsining 24 : 8*b*). This seems to suggest that after the punishment of Li Wen, the emperor must have been informed about the way in which he had acted, and have forgotten about it.

In a former chapter have been related the promotion of T'u-ssu Li Yin, as Duke of Huei Ning, his dishonorable behavior, his punishment, his death soon after 1437, and the promotion of his son Li Ch'ang in 1457. For twenty years the clan had been discredited on account of the behavior of Li Yin. But in 1457 Li Wen, the cousin of Li Yin, went to Peking with his army to congratulate Emperor Yin Tsung on being enthroned for the second time. The delighted emperor promoted him twice and Li Wen may have seized this opportunity to recommend Li Ch'ang, the son of his cousin Li Yin, and to remind the emperor of the merits of his grandfather Li Nan-ko, who had induced the t'u-ssu of Huangchung to surrender in 1371. Li Wen and Li Yin were the sons of the brothers of Li Shang-ko and Li Nan-ko. The emperor at that time was in high spirits, enjoying the jubilations of the entire population of the capital. Moreover ascensions to the throne were customarily accompanied by a general amnesty and this seems to explain why the son of Li Yin, just at that time (1457), started receiving distinguished promotions one after another, and after his death in 1493 an imperial funeral oration. In that way the honor of the entire clan was redeemed in Huangchung, and Li Ch'ang erected the spirit way stele for his father Li Yin in 1475.

HEGEMONY OF THE WESTERN MONGOLS

After the death of Esen in 1455, whose empire reached from Lake Balkash to the Great Wall of China, conflicts arose among the eastern and western Mongols and among the eastern groups themselves. The Ta-t'an (Tatars) Po-lai and Mao-li-hai tried to control the eastern Mongols, who grew more and more independ-

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

and Sung Pa, were learned men and enjoyed prestige in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet (Monguors II: 27, sq.).

In 1607 the Brigadier General, T'u-ssu Ch'i Ping-chai, with his troops, was ordered to help General Ta Yun repel the raids of Kokonor brigands who in combination with Ordos brigands invaded and looted Chengfan and Liangchow. They repelled them, administering a severe blow (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 39).

In 1612 the emperor ordered an honorific arch built to the meritorious Brigadier General Ch'i Teh, and sent the inscription to be chiseled on it: "Honorably favored by Heavenly Grace." The arch was built on the west street of the city of Hsining and still exists. Ch'i Teh is a descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i-Kung-ko-hsing-chi, who during the Yuan period fulfilled the duty of myriarch, with golden badge and purple tassel, in the region 90 li south of Hsining. The Ch'i t'u-ssu clan should have been well acquainted with the Tibetan tribes living south of Hsining. No wonder the Ch'i Teh T'u-ssu was called upon by minister of war Cheng Lo in 1591, together with Colonel Shih Chia, to induce the Tibetan tribes to surrender. His successful efforts must have been the reason for the imperial distinction (*Annals* of Hsining 10: 4*b*; 27: 28).

In 1616 the t'u-ssu Lieutenant Colonel Ch'i Ping-chung (descendant of T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh) appointed at Yung Ch'ang, saw the Mongol Yin-ting-ssu-ts'ing arriving with 1,000 horses to besiege the city. He controlled only 300 men but fought for two days and nights, defending the city. He himself killed three Mongol brigands. When auxiliary troops arrived he himself immediately pursued the enemy and saved all the people and cattle captured by the Mongols. The grateful people of Yung-ch'ang erected in the city a stele in commemoration of his heroic behavior. The stele still exists. Commended by his superiors for his leadership and energy, he was ordered, in 1621, to move with his troops to Liaotung Province (north of Peking) to defend the region of the Pu River. When he arrived, Liao Yang was already captured. Ten thousand more soldiers were put under his command. He remained in Liao tung for two more years. Later he encountered at P'ing-yang the Manchu troops invading China. In a pitched battle he was wounded by two sword cuts and three arrow hits. He was helped on his horse by his soldiers but died on the way. On account of his meritorious achievements, the emperor bestowed upon him the title of "T'ai-tze-t'ai-pao" "Junior guardian of the heir apparent," and an imperial oration was granted at his funeral and an order given to build an honorific arch in the city of Hsining with the inscription: "Served the country, manifested loyalty." The arch still exists. It was built in the large south street of the city (*Annals* of Hsining 10: 4*b*; 27: 21*a–b*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 45*a–b*).

A very important date in the history of Kokonor, Tibet and lamaism is 1636. Ku-Shih-han, chieftain of

Then the governor notified the lamas about the confiscation of their territories and subjects, and informed them about the revocation of the titles of Kuo-shih and Ch'an-shih granted to the most prominent among them by the Ming emperors, and an order was given to hand to the Chinese officials the diploma of the promotion granted to them by the emperor.

Most of these titles had been granted to lamas who had induced tribes to submit, and to move into the depopulated Huangchung, especially in the first century and a half of the Ming. At that time these lamas belonged to the Red sect, were married, and lived among the tribes they had induced to submit, but not in monasteries. They had received personally large proprietaries from the emperor, with a document written in their name, and a title. This had been the origin of the Karwas and Nang so (Monguors II: 18, 19). The son of the lama succeeding to the father, inherited the property and the title and was considered to be a lama. This institution lasted until 1723–1724. The entire lama family during all these years had earned a wealthy living, free from taxes and corvees, and received some taxes from the tribesmen. The *Annals* of Hsining noting this fact, and the confiscation of the territories and subjects of the lamas, adds jubilantly, "and so in one day these unjust conditions, existing for centuries, were abolished" (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 22*b*).

In the same year, for the very first time in history, officials were appointed by the Szechwan and Kansu provinces to fix the boundaries of both provinces in the Kokonor region, and to designate which among the Tibetan tribes should depend upon each of the provinces (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 13*a*).

During the years 1733–1745 orders were repeatedly issued for the building of more graneries in the cities and most important strongholds all over the country, for the amount of grain formerly collected by the lamas and the Khoshot princes was now collected by the officials and had to be stored (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 23*b*, 25*a*).

In 1745 the Hsining *Annals* were printed by Yang Yin-ch'u. The first *Annals*, only two small volumes, contained many errors which were amended.

In 1759 there was famine in the prefecture of Chuang Lang. Grain was loaned to T'u-ssu Lu of Lien Ch'eng to help his subjects. The next year also was one of bad crops. Again grain was loaned for distribution to each of the Monguor families of the t'u-ssu for which restitution was to be made after three years (*Annals* of Kansu 2: 29*b*).

The commanderies of Tatung and Kuei Te became subprefectures in 1761 with complete civil and military administrations (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 4, 11*b*, 14). In Pe-ta and Yung nan a brigadier general and a lieutenant colonel with strong garrisons had already been appointed in 1725, after the revolt of bLo-bzang tan-chin (*Annals* of Hsining 18: 71*a*).

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preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later

N *563 621 fences and the watchmen no longer function and it would be foolhardy to leave crops standing.

241 Within the household, the composition is similar to that of N *563 592 the nomadic tent, although there may be less non-kin hangers-on and a higher frequency of joint-family occupancy. Should the family be a polygynous one, the wives will live in the one house, [595] instead of each having her own. In some cases, the actual family may be divided into nomads and farmers with full occupancy of the house occurring only during the winter season. When this happens, usually the father and one son care for the N herds while the other sons remain on the farm. Upon the death [768] of the father, the properties (i.e., the herds and the fields) are no longer kept together and the fission of the family occurs.

C. The Mongours

N *563 M 173 565 At least until 1949 Mongour social organization retained a reflection of the land allocated by Chingis Khan to his sons, brothers and leading generals. As may be seen clearly in Monguor social structure, the definite differentiation between nobility and subject population resulted from these allocations. The nobles are very much concerned with their claims of descent either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors" whereas the commoner population shows little concern with its genealogical pattern. However, the subject population is closely related to the noble rulers, in a way that was partly tribal but later became feudal.

N *563 M 565 [701] Each noble was obliged to furnish a definite number of troops depending on the size of the territory and the population of which he was the nominal head. It appears likely that the Monguor social groupings began to form as early as Yüan and Mongol rule. Generally speaking, the Monguor commoners are descendants of families that were already subject commoners in the Mongol period, with later additions of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. There are 17 Monguor clans and four M [614] general types of clan leaders. Some of these clans were originally formed by descendants of the Yüan dynasty (Ch'i and Lu clans), and others by military commanders, who though commoners by birth, were given subject families to rule over, as a reward for their services.

N *563 M 614 554 M [428] Each genealogical register of the clans starts with the appointment of a T'u-ssu, (the office of the T'u-ssu, clan chief, being elective or hereditary). The present rank of T'u-ssu was first created by appointment in the Ming dynasty. Each T'u-ssu, with his offspring, forms a unit known as his "bone." Since primogeniture prevails in Monguor social organization, the oldest son of the T'u-ssu inherits the clan leadership after his father's death.

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 554 565 leadership after his father's death. It is noteworthy that by the beginning of the present century, the T'u-ssu was no longer living with his noble kinsmen, but was living in a separate and distinct family, each of which formed an independent economic unit. Therefore, some T'u-ssu were rich, others poor, and the status differentiation, that previously had been determined by wealth disappeared. Thereafter, noble families functioned economically in the same manner as their subject families. In each clan the nobles were subdivided into small units called "houses." Some clans have three houses, some four or five, some as many as thirteen. Each noble family recognizes the house to which it belongs. In each clan the first branch is called the Great House, the second is called the Second House, and so on.

The number of houses that had been established according to the number of sons of the "founding" ancestor has been retained as a genealogical principle. Nobles identify themselves, for example, by referring to what "house" they belong. Since Ming times, the T'u-ssu personally came to be regarded as the ruler and "possessor" of subject commoners. In former times each group of nobles collectively was the "possessor" of the subjects. Subjects and territory were assumed to have been assigned by the emperor to the clan as a whole. If a noble was at odds with his clan, he could either leave the clan, taking with him a proportionate number of the clan's subjects, and join another clan, or he could found a new clan.

Collective ownership of subject commoners by consanguinial noble families is logically stronger in a nomadic economic structure than in an agricultural one. Memories of this concept, however, persist among nomads who have become farmers.

M [428] The rules of succession to the office of clan chief did not allow for competition. However, there are, in fact, elements of inheritance, of choice or selection, of the consent of the governed, and of appointment by the overlord. Any chief succeeds to office according to definite clan rules, namely, he must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestors." When a T'u-ssu dies, all heads of the clan's noble families together with the heads of prominent commoner families convene to choose a successor. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles, that should prove difficult to eliminate completely.

N *563 M 614 554 648 175 When the Ming dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-sse, the headmen ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became instead Chinese officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were modified by their duty to the Chinese rulers. The institution of T'u-ssu or "local chief" was really one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 554 648 175

groups on the frontier of the Empire. The T'u-ssu thus had a double role, he functioned as a "native chief" and as a Chinese official.

The most important clan chiefs who were granted the title of T'u-ssu in Ming times were those of the Ch'i and Lu clans, who were descendants of the Imperial House of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan of the Shato Turks. From this time on the Monguours remained faithful defenders of the frontiers, first under the Ming dynasty and later under the Manchu dynasty. The Shato origin of the Li clan is corroborated by the Chinese Annals. Shato tribes are noted to have lived between Hsi-ning and Kan-chou as early as 939. The supposition that tribes of Turkish origin, bearing Turkish names, still live in the country is therefore not unreasonable.

N *563 M 614 175 648 179

During the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Chinese and Tibetan families enrolled in the seventeen Monguor and Shato clans, in addition to the original Mongol stock, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned. It is very likely that, especially in the period from 1368 to 1723, only stray Chinese families enrolled in Monguor clans. Later in times of peace and wealth, there were probably not many Chinese who joined Monguor clans. It must be said, however, that while the Monguors have absorbed or at least partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture is lower than that of the Chinese.

In addition to the Chinese, large numbers of Tibetans enrolled in Monguor clans. However, they have probably joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese. When Chinese

M [565]

or Tibetans enrolled in the Monguor clans, they became plain clansmen and commoners like ordinary Monguors.

N *563 M 614 554 423

The T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his clan from the emperor. These territories were usually assigned, according to a military plan, as a buffer zone, at a time when the Monguors were still exclusively nomads. It may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories.

N *563 M 614 565 554

The distinctive mark of the commoner is bondage to his respective T'u-ssu. Commoners were subjects "granted" to a chief, to serve him in time of peace and to fight under his command in time of war. The military importance of a T'u-ssu was therefore dependent on the number of his families of commoners. Although the social condition of the commoners was not that of slaves, as pointed out previously, the basic distinction between nobles and commoners still existed in recent times. The first duty of a subject was to never abandon his overlord. Ideally speaking, the T'u-ssu and their subjects were bound together for all time. The subjects could not leave their lord in order to pass

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 565 into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punishment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually declined. No T'u-ssu after this time really wielded any true power.

• 554 [466] The principle of corvee, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

N *563 M 614 211 565 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the T'u-ssu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealogies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed, because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

N *563 M 174 565 M [554] When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was probably considerable social distance between the commoners and the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

N *563 M 621 622 565 The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

N *563 M 596 [421] [561] [595] M [428] Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patrilocal family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-grandfather if he survived. No family usually exceeded four generation. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation. Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. The breakdown of the extended family usually takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens.

M [182] [768] [428]

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

A. The Family Organization

Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patrilineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family. In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines, and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

The extended family has a common courtyard, around which the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus, the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing. After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.

The family head is the religious chief, family administrator and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors, he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

N *563 M 592 • 554 has the privilege of naming his own children and grandchildren. When a granddaughter is to be married, the grandfather usually consults her father before taking any action.

B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

N *563 M 581 562 [769] [771] Among the Mongours marriage is considered not as an optional part, but as an extremely necessary part of life. Because of the veneration of ancestors, as with their Chinese neighbors, the Mongours regard male children as a necessity for carrying on the ancestral cult. Ummarried sons, or childless sons are considered a calamity. The poorest families will even sell part of their livestock and land or go into debt to get a bride for their son.

N *563 M 584 583 582 Marriages usually are arranged by a go-between, frequently the maternal uncle of the boy. The brideprice is subject to considerable negotiations between the two families. The girl chosen usually is two years older than the boy. The acceptable marriage age for boys is between 14-16.

N *563 M 614 582 565 Clan exogamy is observed among the Mongours. There is absolute prohibition against marriage within the clan. The rule is sometimes overlooked by the commoners, but it is strictly observed among the nobles. Among the commoners, intermarriage with Tibetans and Chinese has contributed considerably to the weakening of this rule. In such instances, the clan itself is regarded as not being purely preserved. There is a feeling that it has been penetrated by foreign elements, and therefore the exogamy rules need not be observed as strictly.

N *563 M 582 Exogamy rules out marriage between children of brothers, but does not exclude marriage between the children of a brother and a sister, because the offspring of the latter belongs to a different clan.

M [587] A widowed wife, if living in the setting of the extended family, usually becomes the second wife of a brother of her late husband. However, if the brothers have already divided their inheritance and are living separately, she is free to remarry whomever she wants.

N *563 M 588 Two exceptional kinds of marriage, probably borrowed from the Tibetans, were noted by Schram. One is that of "marriage to the door post," whereby a girl remains in her family and clan, but takes lovers and bears children. Her children have her patrilineal clan name, remain within the family, and are treated as members of the patrilineal clan. The other is "marriage to the belt." A girl, unmarried and living with her own family, has relations with a guest, who leaves his belt, to which she may be "married" if she becomes pregnant.

N *563 M 604 The relationship between two families connected by marriage is maintained primarily by the maternal uncle. While not being part of his married sister's new family, he has a powerful influence

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 769 614 ginning of April according to the lunar calendar, in a festival similar to the Chinese Ch'ing-ming. On this occasion the clan assembles to venerate its ancestors, enjoy a great feast and reunion, and discuss matters of concern to the clan.

On the day of the assembly, the T'u-ssu, the chiefs and elders of the villages and all the family heads go to the graveyard immediately after breakfast, followed by all the other members of the clan. At the graveyard, offerings are made and rites are performed. Then food for the offerings is divided among the families, the oldest generations receiving their portions first.

M [182] [767] This annual veneration of the ancestors serves to reinforce the group unity of the Mongour clan. One of the family heads, usually of the nobility, is appointed to care for the graveyard during the following year. His duties include the collection of contributions and offerings, and the making of repairs. An assistant is assigned to help him with details.

b. Respect for elders and family heads

N *563 M 554 888 The Mongours once lived without chiefs, but never without village elders. Traditionally, the whole power of the clan was vested in the elders, who had the authority to appoint and dismiss chiefs. The village elders still take the most important part in local administration. Elders need not be rich or from noble stock, but they are men of good reputation from the more outstanding families.

N *563 M 554 592 Heads of families are also honored. At public meetings, all are allowed to express their views and defend their rights, but final decisions are made only after the heads of families have spoken.

c. Adultery

N *563 M 684 Adultery is looked upon as a serious crime. If caught, the guilty pair is flogged, the woman on her bare back, the man on bare buttocks and thighs, up to a hundred stripes. The man must confront the husband and make apologies, and present him with a sheep or a pig. A trial is held and fingerprints are taken. Then the pair is led through the village with drums beating while they make public confession of their sin, and they must secure an official statement of pardon.

d. Moral and legal concepts

N *563 M 183 M [593] [587] [421] Both moral and legal concepts of the Mongours seem to be based upon customs, tradition and what the community accepts as just. Some typical social values and concepts are: Wrongs must be righted and injustices corrected. Parents have authority over their children, and husbands over their wives. A widow has the right to remarry or to dispose of herself. Private property must be protected. No one has the right to disturb the peace of the community.

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N *563 of the k'ang. In the presence of the grandfather, the daughters-in-law may not sit, even on the floor.

M 576 The Mongours regard it as an insult to the T'u-ssu to open a conversation or keep one's hat on in his presence. It is considered a mark of respect to remove the hat while visiting with [264] [603] a person of position or rank.

[554] The Mongours use the same term in addressing members of [561] the same generation, with a differentiation according to sex. Older persons are addressed as "big," younger ones as "little."

M [574] It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a guest. The same bowl is used for serving both food and tea, and it must always be filled to the brim. One never presents the bowl with one hand, although when pouring tea, one may hold the pot in the right hand.

One is not allowed to step over a person who is lying down.

Father and daughter must always keep some distance apart. A married woman may remove her hat when visiting in her own mother's home, but she must always have her head decorated and wear a long gown or skirt in the presence of her parents-in-law or their guests.

N *563 i. Celebrations and festivals

M 614 796 Feasting and celebration usually follow the rites of ancestor worship. A large tent is pitched on the open ground below the cemetery, and here the T'u-ssu sits among the nobles, elders and other prominent men of the clan to receive pledges of renewed allegiance from his subjects. As a master of ceremonies shouts directions, the chief and elders of each village, garbed in there ceremonial robes, come up in turn to pay homage to their T'u-ssu. Then a dinner is spread for the T'u-ssu and the

N *563 M 614 527 273 prominent members of the clan. Some sit in the tent, some outside on felt rugs at small tables. A whole sheep is presented to the T'u-ssu, then divided among all present. Wine is drunk, and the festive spirit mounts. Girls dance and sing; lamas from the monasteries wrestle; youngsters race on unsaddled horses. It is a great day for all, but it seldom ends without quarreling and fighting. Under the rising influence of liquor, clothes are torn, heads banged and bones broken. According to tradition, no damage suits may be brought for loss or injuries incurred on this day.

N *563 M 562 [558] [852] [782] [852] Boys are preferred to girls in Mongour society. The festival at the birth of the first son and the selection of his name is particularly important. The Mongours consider the lack of a son as punishment for sins of the parents in some previous incarnation. The sonless woman lives a miserable life, as she has no status in the family or in society. A sonless couple will hire lamas to pray for them, and vow to make long pilgrimages or give alms lavishly if only they are granted a son. Thus the birth of the

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on the luckless family.

The Mongours will never sell animals, or allow them to leave their homes, on the first or fifteenth of the moon, lest luck and prosperity also leave the family.

Although women do all the heavy work, they are not allowed to kill animals. Women are meant to produce life, not destroy it. When a man reaches approximately fifty years of age, it is no longer fitting for him to kill animals. As his own time of death is approaching, he must guard against reincarnation as an animal.

Women stress neatness and cleanliness. They always wash their hands before preparing food or starting any task, and the elders in the home often remind the daughters-in-law of the importance of cleanliness. If they are not clean, the God of the Hearth will punish them and deprive them and their children of blessings.

5. Occupations

The historical shift of the Mongours from pastoralism to farming does not concern us here. Generally speaking, after the Mongours were alloted a fixed territory at the border of Kansu, during the fourteenth century, they were compelled to resort to farming. During a long period of Mongol and Tibetan disturbance on the frontier, it was difficult for the Mongours to keep large herds in the relatively small valleys, so they became more and more dependent upon the farms adjacent to their fortified villages. They sell grain to the city of Lanchou, but they own much more livestock than the Chinese farmers. Their transformation to the agricultural economy is complete, however, and the Mongours have no desire to return to nomadic life.

The Mongours learned from the Chinese farmers, but their techniques are inferior. Both men and women work in the fields. They raise barley, wheat, rapeseed, hemp, potatoes, colza and peas. Very little millet is grown. The women also grow garlic, leeks, onions, cabbage, spinach, watermelons and cantaloupes in small gardens close to their courtyards. These products are for sale; the farmers themselves can seldom afford to eat fresh fruits and vegetables.

Some Mongours depend mainly upon their livestock. They raise sheep, cows, horses, mules, donkeys and pigs. They keep as many cows and sheep as their pastures will support. Horses are the most valuable animals because they enhance the prestige of their owners. Wealthy families keep handsome, fast horses and fine saddles and trappings. They also hire shepherds to take care of their livestock. In poor families, the women tend the livestock, both in their stalls and pens and in the pastures during the summer rainy season.

Shepherds are the highest paid workers in Mongour society